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622 292 [304] ningly wrapped and woven, surmounted by a small tuft of curly black hair. It appears that on Nuku Hiva the *pa'e ku'a*, an oblong frontlet about fifteen inches long and nine inches broad, made of fine red and green feathers, was the headdress particularly of chiefs and chiefesses. On Ua Pou and Fatu Hiva, Mrs. Handy found that one small tattoo design on the ankle was the mark of the chiefly class and was restricted to them. A conch shell belonged to the chief and served him in summoning his workers and warriors.

Family alliances

622 582 [428] On Hiva Oa the marriage of a chief with a representative of another chiefly stock was for social and political reasons considered the most favorable. Formal betrothal and marriage were always with equals; but a chief or chiefess was allowed to marry a commoner if he or she desired to do so, and the children of such a marriage were regarded as equal in rank with the chiefly father or mother, as the case might be, inheriting property and rights as though of full chiefly blood. On the other hand, on both Ua Pou and Nuku Hiva a chief was never allowed to marry out of the *papa haka-iki* or *papa ha'a-te-pe'iu*. In Haka he Tau on Ua Pou it was said that the first son or daughter of the chief of a tribe in that valley always married some one of another chiefly family in the same valley and, inheriting the rights of the father or mother, became in time the head of the tribe. For the younger children suitable mates were found among the children of chiefly families of other valleys. Garcia (pp. 102-103), describing the Nuku Hiva convention, says:

> It is necessary that the one chosen should be also of the royal race, for it is not permitted to great chiefs to make a misalliance. An example of what I speak of was that of the queen Paetini who received us in the first place at the bay of Taiohae and Hakapehi. . . . She was the sole inheritor of numerous districts and she had as her principal spouse the chief or king of the Oumis, distant some miles, who came to see her only for two or three months; but about her were habitually two or three other lesser chiefs, who were likewise called her spouses.

622 582 171 [847] [848] A striking contrast between the marriage customs of chiefs in the Marquesas and those on Tahiti and in Hawaii is furnished by the fact that children of chiefly stock who married persons of common birth were regarded in the Marquesas as legitimate and were not outcasts as in Hawaii, nor killed at birth as in Tahiti. It may be truly said that there was no such thing as illegitimacy and there was no infanticide. Another contrast with Hawaii is found in the fact that the *tapu* on the marriage of brothers and sisters applied as definitely and strictly in chiefly families as in others. There were no such close, consanguineous marriages as those of Hawaii to preserve the purity of chiefly blood.

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304 the operation, was compelled to rest and recuperate, the bodies of the youths who were assisting at the rite were tattooed gratis by the *tuhuna*. Everyone in the tattooing house was *tapu*, being restricted from any con- [784] tact with outsiders, particularly with women. There were certain food restrictions for the *opou*, the object of which appears to have been to lessen the inflammation and fever resulting from the operation.

The youth was held by assistants of the *tuhuna patu tiki*, who outlined the designs with charcoal. These outlined designs the *tuhuna* himself sometimes filled in; but at other times he would leave that part of the work to his assistants or apprentices. The pigment used was made by [386] mixing soot from the smoke of burnt candlenut kernels with water or coconut oil. The whole process of making the pigment, which was prepared in advance by the father of the boy, was very *tapu*. The implements of the [413] *tuhuna* consisted of a set of small bone instruments with fine saw-teeth at one end, which were inserted in a piece of reed stem or bamboo to serve as a handle, and a small baton held in the right hand, which was used to tap the instrument. As the tattooer worked, he accompanied the rhythm [533 755] of his tapping with a chant which was supposed to lessen the pain for the boy. (For examples of design see fig. 11, and Pl. II, c.)

At the time of these rites the *ka'ioi* youths who were undergoing the [553] operation with the *opou* always gave him a nickname which was known as the *pati'i*. These nicknames always referred to some personal peculiarity of the boy himself, or of his parents. The final completion of the tattooing was celebrated with a feast (see Festivals) at which the newly tattooed youths exhibited the beauty of their new designs.

Girls were tattooed betwen the ages of seven and twelve, in a small house erected for the purpose, the work being done simply, with less elaborate rites and without the participation of the *ka'ioi*.

MARRIAGE AND RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN THE SEXES

836 The freedom between the sexes during the years immediately following adolescence has been described in detail. (See The Tribe—Ka'ioi.) Porter says (24, p. 113):

> Before marriage they [unmarried girls] are at liberty to indulge themselves with whom they please, but after marriage the right of disposing of them remains with the husband.

583 The transition from the period of *ka'ioi* freedom to permanent relation- ● 848 ship with one of the other sex appears to have come either as a result of the birth of a child to a girl or young woman, in which case she and the child's father came together and lived as *ahana* and *vehine*, merely

1: Handy E-5 (1920-1921)1923 OX6 Marquesas OX6

583 848

through the desire on the part of a young couple to remain together more or less permanently.

582 [591]

All of the rules applying to marriage that are about to be mentioned applied to adoptive relative in exactly the same way as to blood relatives.

Marriage was permitted either in or out of the tribe. Formal betrothal was, however, always between members of different tribes. It seems probable that there was very little marriage outside of the tribe, except between the children of chiefs. On Hiva Oa there was never either marriage or betrothal between members of the western division called Nuku and those of the eastern division called Pepane.

The restrictions controlling marriage in general were explained to me once in the following way: There could be no marriage that was within the third degree of relationship called *pakeke;* there must be "four individuals between" *(e fa enata).*

582 835

Cohabitation was absolutely forbidden for the following classes: brothers and sisters, parents and offspring, grandparents and grandchildren, and cousins who were sons and daughters of a father's brothers or of a mother's sisters, these cousins being regarded as full brothers and sisters. What was the punishment for incest I do not know.

Temporary or occasional cohabitation only was allowed to father- or mother-in-law with son- or daughter-in-law *(motunoai* with *hunona).* Permanent mating was not allowed on the part of these, even if the formally affianced *(tuia)* husband or wife were dead. What is meant by temporary or occasionel cohabitation is what is expressed in native parlance by the phrase *e koana i te kamo,* literally "to be permissible to steal," the sense being apparently, that one could snatch such temporary relationship if occasion offered. The occasion was usually the absence of the regular husband or wife. A man had the right to sleep with his brothers' wives or with his wife's sisters with the consent of their husbands, but such permission appears to have been given only when the *ahana* was absent.

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Between all the members of the opposite sex not included in the classes above permanent mating was allowed. This included marriage between maternal uncles and paternal aunts *(pahupahu)* and their nephews and nieces *(i'amutu).* The fact that these could marry would seem to stand as an argument against the hypothesis presented in the discussion in explanation of this personal relationship—that is, that the relationship was ceremonial, based on the fact that it did not have in it the possibility of contamination through sexual contact. But all the rites, in which the *pahupahu* took charge of the *i'amutu* and in which it was necessary that there should be no such contamination, occurred during the childhood of the *i'amutu,* in other words, before there could have been any such

6: Lisiansky T-5 (1803-1806) 1814 OX6 Marquesas OX6

585 abode with them. The young lovers live together for a while, 1804.
583 on the most intimate footing; and if, at the termination of that May.
period, they still are attached to each other, the marriage is con-
[591] cluded, by their quitting the paternal house, and removing to
one of their own.

595 In rich families, every woman has two husbands; of whom one may be called the assistant husband. This last, when the other is at home, is nothing more than the head servant of the house; but, in case of absence, exercises all the rights of matrimony, and is also obliged to attend his lady wherever she goes. It happens sometimes, that the subordinate partner is chosen after marriage; but in general two men present themselves to the same woman, who, if she approves their addresses, appoints one for the real husband, and the other as his auxiliary: the auxiliary is generally poor, but handsome and well-made.

● 548 It is no disgrace here, if a woman be brought to bed on the
586 very day of her marriage; the child is still legitimate: indeed there is no such thing known as illegitimacy. Divorces take place with as little ceremony as the nuptial rites are performed.

595 A man may take another wife, and a woman another husband, whenever they find it mutually convenient to do so. Though near relations are forbidden to marry, it sometimes happens, that
588 a father lives with his daughter, and a brother with his sister. Some years ago an instance occurred of a mother cohabiting with her son, but it was regarded with horror; which shows that, even among savages, the rights of maternity are respected above
[592] all others. On the birth of a child, the ceremony is observed of